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Everyone refusing to sign had to give a reason in writing for refusing, and even the best formulated reasons could not protect him from losing his job. People say: If there should be a war, let it be now, before only half of us are left.

B. Present Situation and the Future

3. Measures of the Communist regime which would more or less meet with the general approval of the public are practically nonexistent because the majority of reforms having the consent of the people had been introduced before February 1948 (National Insurance, agrarian reform, etc.). Practically all measures of the regime are subjected to severe criticism, but there is no uniform opinion. There is general disagreement with the nationalization of small enterprises and with the introduction of cooperatives because able individuals are prevented from doing creative work. Farmers' cooperatives are hated and ridiculed and not only by farmers. Workers including numerous Communists look with disdain at socialistic competition and Stakhanov-workmanship. Stakhanov workers in a factory mean the raising of the working norms and thus the lowering of wages. Production methods as well as changes in justice introduced by Copicks and Rais are criticized. People hate the regime to such an extent that they criticize everything, even useful arrangements.
4. The present situation is considered worse than that existing during the German occupation. People recall that the Germans persecuted those who worked against them. Communists, on the contrary, liquidate not only all capitalistic elements regardless of whether they oppose them or not, but also all non-Communists and those from the Communist ranks who do not seem to be sufficiently reliable. During the occupation it was enough for one to be silent and to mind one's own business in order to avoid difficulties with the Gestapo. Today, if one wants to be left alone, one must either become a member of the Communist Party or one must take part in construction work very actively. Everything that the regime asks must be done. The demands are not minor: The highest working productivity in one's assignment, increase in working effectiveness and deliveries, fulfillment of plans and super-plans, socialistic competition, competitions among Stakhanov-workers, temporary and permanent labor brigades, participation during "cultural" events and various celebrations, political schooling, etc; simply a complete lack of private life. It is obvious that the regime is not so much concerned with increasing working effectiveness, as everyone knows that labor brigades do not bring great profit; the idea is that every citizen be so tired after his daily activities, he will not think of anything else but eating and sleeping. If the non-Communists have very little private life, the Communists have absolutely none. Some of them do not have one free evening. If, by chance, a Saturday or Sunday is not taken by some lecture or gathering, a labor brigade will surely be created to keep every citizen busy.
5. The present situation is considered better only by one segment of the workers. The reason is that workers in comparison with the rest of the population are better paid. They are constantly assured that unemployment is impossible under the present regime, and they are reminded of the unemployment during the First Republic and of the present unemployment in France and in the United States. The working class is officially put in first place. It is difficult to say what percentage of workers owns property such as farms, but even the smallest owners disagree with the regime because they are threatened with nationalization of their property. One hears speculations, for instance, that in the armament factory in Brno 70 to 80 percent of the workers are against the regime. That would indicate that only those workers are for the regime who live from their wages and have no other income. But even this statement must be taken with reservation. We know for example that "Red Kladno" and Moravska Ostrava are very discontented with the situation and that the regime has many difficulties with them. J. Kovar, an artist who spent a long period of time in the area of Moravska Ostrava with an order to do paintings of workers and who made many acquaintances among their ranks, said that all spoke very sharply against the regime. Also railroad employees are seething with discontent because there

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are many old Social Democrats among them who have always been anti-Communist. About a half a year ago firemen and engineers decided to strike, but the strike was, at least in Prague, suppressed by the SMD. A detailed picture of the working class could be given only by an industrial expert who knows the situation from his own experience. The fact remains that the working class is the most reliable cadre of the Communist Party and that it cannot be expected to defect completely, unless our politicians abroad are able to introduce a political program which would remove fears of unemployment. According to source, workers would be satisfied with a promise that key industries and mines will remain nationalized and that every worker will have the right to earn a decent minimum living.

6. Other classes consider the present situation to be worse. The intelligentsia are mostly affected even more than they were during the German occupation. They are hurt materially and are very often humiliated by the fact that they are forced to obey orders of non-experts who are very often illiterate. The regime considers the intelligentsia to be the bearer of capitalistic ideology. The tradesmen class was liquidated almost completely, and recently cooperatives of hairdressers and other smaller shops were ordered to be formed. The exasperation of tradesmen has its origin in material matters, of course. They recall that Gottwald during the election campaign in 1946 stated: "We need a strong tradesman (class)" and even the constitution of 1948 speaks about national cooperatives and private enterprises. These statements and the wording of the constitution, coupled with the present situation, make it quite clear to what extent one can trust Communism.
7. Nor do the farmers forget that during the 1946 elections the Communist Party proclaimed a slogan: "The earth belongs to those who work on it". And now they are being forced by all means into the farmers' cooperatives. Machines are being taken away from them, farm barriers are being cancelled too. Farmers clearly see the deceit practised on them. It is true that there are no kolkhozes in Czechoslovakia yet, but there are farmers' cooperatives and the difference is only in the name. A Communist Party speaker to whom the above slogan of the Communist Party was mentioned said: "Of course, the earth belongs to those who work on it. But the property is now collectively owned and therefore the profit from it has to be collective." The result of this agrarian policy is catastrophic. Farmers, in the first place, are leaving the border areas for the interior of the country or are taking jobs as factory workers. Farmers in the interior of the country are working with great indifference. The picture is worse where farmers' cooperatives have been introduced. Grain is being badly stored and is rotting. No one is looking for a remedy. There are fears that this lack of interest among the farmers can result in years of hunger for the population.
8. If elections were held in Czechoslovakia today, the results in Bohemia and Moravia, in source's opinion, would be as follows:

a. Communists	about 15%
b. Non-Communist parties	85%
1) Social Democrats	20%
2) National Socialists	25%
3) People's Party	10%
4) Agrarian Party	30%

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At free elections, Communists would retain with difficulty only the most faithful members of the party, especially if other parties were to proclaim a sufficiently social program. The rest of the former Communist voters would vote for the Social Democrats and the National Socialists, and farmers without exception would join the Agrarian Party. Communists would also lose many of their pre-war members who are now extremely dissatisfied with the party policy and who were pushed out of the leadership of the party by new members, trained by Moscow.

9. The Social Democrats would win back their old voters and in addition a major percentage from Communist Party ranks, but would lose all farmers and tradesmen and some of their voters who cannot forget the attitude of the party leadership in February 1948. They would become exclusively a workers' party. The National Socialists would gain back a majority of their members except for farmers, a majority of civil servants and tradesmen and some workers. The Agrarian Party would, on the basis of experiences since February 1948, win over practically all farmers, a major percentage of tradesmen and the rest of former right-wing parties. Farmers seem to be united this time. They state that they will achieve the reestablishment of the Agrarian Party, even if it must be done by force. They want a solid Agrarian Party to withstand the Communist danger. The People's Party, as a result of the irresolution of its politicians and the vagueness of its program, would not reach more than 10 percent. It could of course hold its former supporters.
10. The situation in Slovakia is not known by source. One thing is certain, however, the Communists, especially because of their attitude towards the Catholic Church, would be beaten in free elections.
11. To answer the question of how to arrange free elections is not easy. It would be necessary to study the question of how it is possible to influence voters. Generally it can be said that the following would be necessary:
 - a. An international control committee with complete executive power during the election campaign. After the elections the power would be turned over to the government established on the basis of election results.
 - b. An international court, which would be absolutely impartial and which would prosecute all cases of electoral violence.
 - c. International police, subordinated to an international committee and in certain cases to the international court.
 - d. Dissolution of the Army and SBN units.
 - e. Return of all political leaders and emigres, but if they cannot return in time for the elections facilities for them to vote abroad should be provided.
 - f. Release of all political prisoners.
 - g. Declaration by all political parties that whatever the result of the elections, no one would be prosecuted for his statements during the election campaign.

These suggestions are made by source cursorily, and, as indicated, the problem requires a very thorough study.

12. The effect of Marxist education on the population varies considerably. Generally it can be said that except for Communist Party members results are insignificant with people over 35 years of age. With those between 25 and 35 some influence can already be observed. It is necessary to realize that this generation was growing up during the German occupation and that it was developing sometimes in directions contrary to Masaryk's conception of democracy. These undemocratic views, preached by the Nazis, are surprisingly similar to those of the Communists. In this way a favorable

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atmosphere is being created for acceptance of Communist ideology, or at least of some of its principles. For example, a 29-year old engineer said that students who in this term did not show sufficient results were excluded from the University. He considered this right. Source did not agree with him as he was in favor of the Swedish system which allows a student to stay at the university even after 90 terms. The young man objected, saying that a negligent student does not contribute to the state and that the first duty of every citizen is to work for the state. If he does not do so, he should be liquidated as a useless human being. This student was a non-Communist. Dozens of examples could be furnished by source to prove that young people are intoxicated with some Nazi-Communist ideas. Responsible are, first of all, the circumstances under which youth is growing, but also responsible are political parties and parents who did not care to remove the moral consequences of the German occupation and who did not by their moral support fortify their youth against Communist infection.

13. Even worse is the situation of those between 15 and 25 years of age. Here not only is the influence of German occupation apparent but also that of Communist education. Communist ideological influence is used very efficiently in the schools. Every youth is radical and today in Czechoslovakia this radicalism can manifest itself only in one direction: in Communism which gives the youth opportunity. Clubs, discussions, public demonstrations, parades with bands and flags, sports, recreation, cultural competitions, etc. - everyone may choose among them but only within limits imposed by the Communist Party. It is not surprising that young people yield. It is difficult to evaluate numerically what the extent of Communist influence is. It depends on family and local circumstances. The fact that every young person must become a member of the Youth Association indicates the danger to the youth.
14. The worst situation is with children under 15 years of age. If the political situation does not change very soon, the harm can become irreparable. Socialistic education starts even in nurseries by competition. In primary schools it starts with Lenin and Stalin. The first article in the first book a child sees is entitled: "I will become a Stakhanov worker." Political education in primary schools is so directed that a child will retain the principal dogma of Communism. Children are informed that during the First Republic children did not go to schools, that they had to work, that there were few schools, that many of them were not good, etc. Sometimes the views of children are corrected by their parents, but parents do not always have time for them and they also often are afraid to tell the truth to avoid difficulties with the police. Recently religious teaching was taken away from the priests and given to laymen who stress political education.
15. High schools, which were prior to February 1948 the centers of democratic education, have also become propagandists of Communism.

C. Views on Some Internal Problems after the Defeat of Communism

16. People disagree on returning to the status of 1938 although they remember this period to be a very good one. The majority wishes the establishment of former political parties except the Communist and Fascist Parties. Different are the views concerning the number of political parties. The majority considers four parties to be sufficient: National Socialist, Social Democratic, Agrarian and People's. Others are of the opinion that the number of parties should not be limited and that evolution would bring an automatic decrease in their number. There are views, mostly among the intelligentsia, recommending that the Communist and Fascist Parties not be outlawed. They argue that such a prohibition would push members of these parties into the underground. On the other hand, if they were permitted to have their party, they would be registered and under control, and intervention in case of subversive activities would be much easier. Great Britain is given as an example.

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17. The proportional electoral system is generally considered better than the majority system. Obligatory lists of candidates are not acceptable because the voter has to vote very often for a person whom he does not consider able or worthy to represent the people. People with political experience are considering the possibilities of new arrangements in our political life. The majority system is being discussed as well as counties' representation as was used in Austro-Hungary. Those people are in the minority but they represent politically the most educated element of the population.
18. Nationalization is generally considered a necessity. However, in general, only the nationalization of heavy industry, of mines, of wholesale merchant shops and of spas is believed just. On the other hand, there is absolute disagreement on the nationalization and forming of cooperatives of small industrial enterprises and trades. People feel that in this way the possibility for outstanding achievements is taken away from an individual, that national income is being decreased and that the standard of living is being lowered. Opponents of nationalization assert that nationalization in principle is wrong since it is the first serious step to limiting the right of property and that, after this first step, it is impossible to prevent further ones, thus leading to the same results as Communism.
19. The public is not too much interested in the nationalization of banks and does not attribute any importance to finances being under state or private control. The majority would perhaps favor nationalization. The inclusion of cooperatives in the socialistic economy is objected to mainly by farmers. The rest of the population has no interest in this question because it does not concern them.
20. The new agrarian reform, undertaken in 1945, was received by farmers with satisfaction and source asserts that it would not be advantageous to change it. There may be exceptions where partition of farms will have to be cancelled, if it occurred purely for political reasons and if the property did not or does not extend over 50 ha. Other changes which were ordered after February 1948 will have to be cancelled without exception.
21. National insurance is accepted favorably although there are objections against present practices and the amount of payment. Unification of gymnastic organizations is judged differently but it seems that the unification is favored by the majority. Against unification are former chairmen of Sokol, OREL (the Catholic gymnastic organization) and OTJ (Social Democratic gymnastic organization) which are still rivals. There is basically no objection to the nationalization of spas. The only criticism is that it eliminates medical treatment of private patients in spas. Recreational institutions are very popular especially among workers and the youth, and it will probably be necessary to permit them to continue, with the assumption, of course, that the organization and administration would be changed. The question would require a mammoth study.

D. Most Unpopular Measures and Institutions

22. These are:

- a. Ministry of National Security as an institution.
- b. Ministry of Interior: county organization. This was introduced 100 years ago in Austro-Hungary and cancelled as soon as inconvenient. Some rules about state citizenship.
- c. Ministry of Industry; Ministry of Internal and Foreign Trade: Nationalization of small enterprises (national and communal enterprises), the free market and the "Darex" which is called the "State Black Market" among the population.

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- d. Ministry of Agriculture: Farmers' cooperatives, all measures aiming at "kolkhozization" of farms, consolidation of land, etc.
- e. Ministry of Food: Institutions for distribution of fruits, vegetables, butter, milk and eggs. Rationed economy.
- f. Ministry of Finance: Law concerning wages.
- g. Ministry of Justice: Act Protecting the People's Democratic Republic, transfer of judges.
- h. Ministry of Education: Political education in schools and numerous clauses based on class hatred. New church rules and establishment of the Bureau of Church Affairs. Communist influence upon cultural life (theaters, cinemas, concerts, etc.)
- i. Ministry of Information: The ministry itself. Its influence on literature.
- j. Ministry of National Defense: Purge of non-Communist officers, political education of enlisted men.
- k. Ministry of Techniques and Transportation: Nationalization of post office, nationalization of transportation, nationalization of building industry.
- l. Ministry of Health: Prohibition of private medical treatment in spas. Jurisdiction of the Labor Office to compel work, privileged distribution of apartments.
- m. Ministry of Unification: Few people are aware that it exists.

Communist Party and Other Political Parties

- 23. People make distinctions among individual personalities of the regime. In any case, they consider Zapotocky and Cepicka to be worse than Gottwald. Fierlinger is despised most of all. Among the ministers who are collaborating with the Communists, Flojhar is considered as the greatest coward. Others are not even mentioned in daily discussions. Slovak ministers are not well known in Bohemia and Moravia, and in Slovakia Siroky is considered worse than Clementis. The latter gained in popularity after he had been ousted from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Sevcik and Grobar are known to be insignificant collaborators.
- 24. The degree of hatred for and aversion to leading personalities of the regime depends on the knowledge of the people about the activities of the persons concerned. Therefore these personalities fall into two categories: Those about whom the people are

<u>Generally Informed</u>	and	<u>Well Informed</u>
1. Zapotocky		1. Gemuender
2. Cepicka		2. Slansky
3. Hojedly and Nosek		3. Fierlinger
4. Kopecky		4. Reicin
5. Fierlinger		5. Vesely, J.
6. Slansky		6. Pokorny
7. Gottwald		7. Kopriya
8. Kopriya		8. Nosek
9. Gregor		9. Cepicka
10. Flojhar		10. Gregor and Rais
11. Sevcik		11. Gottwald
12. Slechta		12. Hojedly
13. Neuman		13. Kopecky
14. Grobar		14. Zapotocky
15. Svoboda		15. Svoboda
		16. Prochazka, Gen.
		17. Siroky
		18. Sevcik
		19. Flojhar
		20. Outrata
		21. Slechta
		22. Neuman

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Undoubtedly the public hates Zapotocky the most and then Cepicka.

25. To what extent Nosek enriched himself after May 1945 with villas, cars, etc. can best be learned from Dr. Zdenek Toman who is in exile abroad. Fierlinger acquired a villa in Prague, one of the most luxuriously furnished, and even at this time he is receiving furnishings. One official, arrested because of bribery, declared that he would not be in prison too long because he had estimated the value of furnishings in Gottwald's and Fierlinger's villas. He was released very soon. Kopriva has not paid for his furniture, according to a reliable source.
26. A general purge in the Communist Party started about two months ago. All Communist Party members had to return their membership cards and reapply for membership. Their applications will be decided individually. The purpose of the purge is obvious: To decrease the number of members as soon as possible because, as it now stands, the party has not enough sinecures for all of them. The intention is to satisfy the most faithful. Through the purge the Communist Party will become strictly selective, as required by Moscow. This time leaders of the Party have wrongly evaluated the situation. They anticipated that people will try to join the party at any price. But the contrary has happened and a great percentage has welcomed this opportunity to get out of the party. Many have been waiting for this chance since February 1948 when they joined the party out of fear. Before source left the country the purge was not yet finished, but he heard that many people did not apply for membership and, as a consequence, they ceased to be members of the party. In the Ministry of Unification, it seems that the party organization will disintegrate. The same situation seems to exist in other central offices except in the Ministry of Interior, where non-Communists were removed long ago.
27. There are several reasons why the people decided to drop their party membership:
 - a. Fatigue from continuous meetings, joining labor brigades, and fulfillment of other party obligations.
 - b. Acceptance by the intelligentsia that they will lose their jobs and will have to work with their hands.
 - c. Consciousness of the mistake they committed by joining the party inconsiderately.
 - d. International situation, especially the war in Korea.

Leading persons of the Communist Party emphasized at this purge that those who did not apply for membership in the party would not be harmed in any way.
28. Among organized Communists there are not more than 25 to 30 percent convinced ones, and even this percentage is rather high. The rest of the people joined the party out of fear. Even convinced Communists are not united. In the background there is the continuous struggle between the Jewish leadership (Gemuender, Slansky, and Roizin), which is more radical and is favored by Moscow, and the others. To outsiders this struggle is not so apparent but from time to time it manifests itself in the lower level of the party. For example it is known that these two factions have been struggling with each other in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In the Ministry of Interior and the Ministry of National Security the Jewish group holds its position firmly.
29. Against the present leadership are those older Communists who were cast aside after February 1948. Among them are the former Senator V. Mikulisek, Senator Stein and others. It seems that those old Communists have their own organization which informs its members beforehand. Reasons for this opposition are not only of a personal nature. The members want action on their program of 1945, i.e., Czechoslovak Communism independent of Moscow and serving the interests of the people. Several times source asked Senator Mikulisek to intervene in favor of arrested soldiers. Mikulisek referred always to his inability to accomplish anything. He intervened in every case, but always without success. It was obvious to source that he was unhappy about the situation. From his statement it was apparent that he believed in Communism as did Masaryk: its evolution by persuading the people that it is the right political orientation.

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30. In Communist ranks the situation is criticized mostly by the intelligentsia. Criticism of the remainder is generally based on material reasons. Convinced Communists judge the functionaries favorably, the rest of the population considers them as crooks. The same is true of secretaries.
31. The majority of the critics belongs to the older generation, but younger people are not excluded. Criticism of the workers depends on living conditions. Appeals for increased working productivity are accepted only by convinced Communists. Aversion of the rest of people is apparent.
32. People recall the life under political parties and trade unions before the occupation but not too much. They are overcome by present politics. The present system of political and organizational life is regarded by an overwhelming majority as an excess of the worst kind and no one except a Communist fanatic would compare it with the situation before the coup.

Literature, Press, Theater, Sports and Broadcasts

33. Enforced books are not read at all. Aversion is caused by Hronok's (Langstein) books, also those of Gottwald, and of Fierlinger whose book "In Services of Czechoslovakia" is considered the best indictment he could write against himself. Ridiculed are the works of "writer" Zapotocky. Communist propaganda in favor of Jirasek has succeeded to some extent among the workers, but source cannot say that there is an extraordinary interest in his books.
34. Source does not know who among the living writers are read the most. Among the dead ones are K. Capek, V. Vancura, A. Jirasek, and K. V. Rais.
35. Private lending of those books which have been eliminated from public libraries is widespread. In the Prague library, 10,000 books have been eliminated and those most defective vanished immediately. The Ministry of Information is preparing a law forbidding private lending of books under severe punishment. It is difficult to get a forbidden book, not because the owner is afraid to lend it, but because one has to wait a long time for his turn to read the book.
36. Reading of Communist literature is enforced especially of members of the Communist Party. To ensure that the book is really read the party warns that the contents of a book will be the subject of discussion at a meeting. In some offices and factories Communist books are distributed also to non-members of the party. In such cases the extent of success depends on local circumstances. Prior to 1 May 1950, a neighbor who is a Communist Party member asked source to read an article by Gottwald in Rude Pravo (Red Right) which he had brought with him. Source told him that he was not interested, that he was not a party member, etc., but the neighbor insisted and asked source not to cause him trouble since he had been instructed to inform all tenants in the house about the first of May and the block trustee would learn whether source had been informed. If source's answer were in the negative, the neighbor would be admonished at the Communist Party meeting. Would source do it just as a favor since they had always been good neighbors? Source out of pity finally promised. Fortunately, the block trustee did not come. This action was taken in the entire city of Prague.
37. The most hated newspaper men are Drda, Sila, Vyskovsky. In the Communist regime, objectivity of a newspaper man when he is writing about politics is completely unknown.
38. People are very much interested in the theater and concerts when classical works are performed. Of course, it is very difficult to get tickets for such performances, especially in Prague and especially for the National Theater. The theater is nearly always reserved for some organization such as the Communist Party, trade union, or the Youth Organization. Theaters are empty when plays with political ideas are performed. In order to fill such theaters, at least partly, people buying tickets for a classical play have to buy one ticket for a political play also. Thus has "rationed" culture been started.

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39. In motion pictures people distinguish between Soviet films and those of other sources. No one wants to see Soviet films, not even a good one. In this way political orientation is manifested. Except for the picture "Gorki's Life" no other Soviet film was worth seeing. Films of Czech production are frequented more if they are not too obviously political. American and British films and then the French films are very popular and the theaters are always filled.
40. The Communist leadership of course is not pleased with this state of affairs; it tries to force people to see Soviet pictures. Such intervention ends sometimes with imprisonment. Source tells the following story: A married couple went to the theater. At the entrance the husband went to buy the tickets. His wife said to him loudly: "Do not buy tickets if it is a Soviet film." When the husband returned he found that his wife had disappeared. People in front of the theater told him that a gentleman in plain clothes had taken her away. Even three months later the man had not heard about the fate of his wife.
41. Expression of dissatisfaction with the regime can be often heard at motion picture performances. Police have intervened very brutally so that now such demonstrations are limited to hissing and whistling and to refusing to applaud when expected. Many people enter the theater at the end of the newsreel, as was the case during the German occupation. The police counter-act by closing the entrance after the newsreel has started.
42. Critics of Soviet-made films are sometimes not objective because they are mainly guided by political reasons. People speak about such films with disdain even before they have seen them. Attendance of some pictures such as "Sevastopol" was obligatory for Communist Party members, and in some factories and offices it was obligatory even for non-Communists. Among the new Czech pictures "Zelezny dedek" (Iron Old Man) received the most ridicule and among plays, Zapotocky's "New Fighters Will Arise". Source did not see either of them.
43. The most popular person in the world of the theater is undoubtedly Podvalova; Jerich was also quite popular. The return of Vlasta Burian met with great interest; his penitent statement was published in Rude Pravo. People believed that he was forced to make this statement. Burian played at Kladno and his new debut was very favorably received. He was supposed to play in motion picture theaters too, in order to help fill the empty houses, but [redacted] 25X1X he had not appeared. There was a rumor that he is in prison. The story is as follows: On one occasion he appeared on the stage at Kladno. Dressed in winter clothes with a cap on his head, he said: "First of all we shall hang the cap" (in Czech skullcap is "copicka" and Copicka is the name of the Minister of National Defense). Tremendous applause followed and Burian was supposed to have been arrested on the scene. Source does not know if this story is true. The comedian Flachta who used to be very popular is now hated because of his collaboration with the Communists. There are no new stars in Czech films.
44. There are large attendances at sports events which are sometimes used for political demonstrations. At the volley-ball tournament in the summer of 1950, the public openly favored Czech players against the Soviet team. Most popular among sportsmen were members of the hockey team, and their popularity increased after their arrest. In minor sports most popular is, of course, Zatopek, but his popularity decreased after he made several statements showing loyalty to the regime.
45. Communist infiltration into gymnastic, sport and other organizations is so deep today that non-Communists have no chance to assemble and talk freely. Mutual trusts have been shaken by many bitter experiences. An example of this is the case of the hockey players.

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46. Czechoslovak Communist broadcasts are listened to very little except by convinced Communists. These broadcasts are so discredited that even if well-known truths were stated, people would look for underlying lies. If anything is listened to, it is the news but only for the purpose of comparing them with the BBC, Voice of America and Free Europe. Among source's friends there are many people who have not listened to Czechoslovak broadcasts since February 1948.
47. Women are discontented mostly with the food situation. Also the inadequate supply of textile products and extremely high prices are causing dissatisfaction. An average family has no means of buying things on the free market or even in Dares.

Workers and Brigades

48. Stakhanov workers are generally hated in all factories. The reason is that by greater productivity they are raising the norms, consequently lowering the wages for the rest of the employees. Another reason for this hatred is that Stakhanov workers receive special privileges. One can read almost every day a story in Rude Pravo by a Stakhanov worker of the rancorous attitude of his fellow workers.
49. Members of labor brigades are not enthusiastic, not even Communist members. It is understood that one has to volunteer for a brigade in order to keep one's job. Even the most loyal Communists do not like the institution of labor brigades. Everyone is tired out from the obligations imposed on him by the party. The Communist youth, on the contrary, like brigades, not because they realize their importance, but because brigades are a good opportunity for uncontrolled diversions consisting mostly of drinking and prostitution. It is difficult to estimate the percentage of enthusiasts in brigades but 10 percent may not be an exaggeration according to source.
50. People at home do not make any distinction between town residents and peasants. The question is only who is a Communist and who is not. Non-Communists are very cooperative.

National and Religious Problems

51. About a half a year ago there were rumors in Prague that Germans were returning to the border area. At the same time, citizenship was given to Germans who had stayed in Czechoslovakia after 1945. The number of Germans increased perhaps only slightly, mainly in the areas of Liberec and Trutnov. Elsewhere, in the areas of Pilsen, Chob, Sokolov and Znojmo, no increase in the number of Germans could be noted. In Prague nothing is known about the behavior of the Germans. People from the border area report that the Germans are self-confident, are not concerned with politics, and associate exclusively among themselves. In the area of Kaplice in Southern Bohemia, the German population is waiting for the return of those who left for Germany in 1945. There are cases of previous German owners of farms coming from Germany to pay visits to their property. Source does not believe that these Germans are politically more active although the appointment of Kreibich as ambassador to Moscow might be explained as a political move.
52. Treaties between East Germany and the USSR have been somewhat ridiculed by the population. What can be seen as a possibility for more friendly relations between the Czechs and the Germans is their common suffering from Communist oppression.
53. The transfer of Germans from Czechoslovakia is still considered to be a proper political move. Sometimes the methods of transfer are criticized. People disagree with the unrestricted transfer of industrial experts such as of the glass and china industries because it could cause considerable

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harm to industry. Not long ago source heard an interesting opinion: All property of the Sudeten Germans was estimated to be 300 billion Kcs. Czechoslovakia had a claim on the Reichsbank of about 200 billion Kcs. Therefore it would have been correct if Czechoslovakia had offered the Germans 100 billion Kcs, e.g., from reparations, and in that way it could have bought the property from the Sudeten Germans. That would eliminate objections, very often heard mainly in the West, that the Sudeten German property had been confiscated. But this method was not used. Czechoslovakia will never receive the 200 billion Kcs from the Reichsbank, reparations are going to the benefit of the Communists, and many people believe that the Czechs have stolen Sudeten German property.

54. Resistance of the Catholic Church encourages the people in their struggle against Communism. An increase in sympathy with the Catholic Church is apparent among anti-Communists. As a result of the oppression of the Catholic Church by the Communist regime a certain number of people joined the church. Source cannot say that this is a mass movement.
55. Catholic priests collaborating with the regime have practically no adherents among the people. In some areas of Moravia and Slovakia where Catholicism is strongly entrenched, people have stopped visiting churches in which priests collaborating with the regime preach and visit churches in the neighboring towns or villages. The situation in Bohemia is not known to source, but in Moravia collaborating priests have so few followers that it is impossible to express it numerically. Local Communist Party organizations try, of course, to strengthen the position of such priests by ordering the party members to attend divine services. But in most cases this ends in a fiasco because people ridicule such attendances, saying that Communists are ordered to be religious. The Catholic Church has gained in sympathy and to some extent in numbers but this increase cannot be called substantial. An observer might be deceived on seeing the churches always almost filled with people. This fact has nothing to do with Communist oppression. People visit churches in order to listen to clever priests who by allegories attack Communist ideas. Large attendance at churches is, first of all, a sign of a great national catastrophe -- people are looking for protection everywhere and also to God.
56. Members of the Czech and Protestant Churches disapprove in great numbers of the collaboration of their clergy with the regime and would like to see them take the same stand as the Catholic priests. Professor Hromádka is very unpopular and hated. According to a reliable source, the following incident occurred about five months ago in Prague. In the Protestant Church in Prague near Charles Square a divine service with all leading personalities of the Church in attendance was held. When it was over the minister announced that the superiors of the Church had gone to a meeting to send a cable of greeting to the President of the Republic. Suddenly a young man stepped forward and said: "People, I beg that you not allow our superiors to betray the nation." A great disturbance among those present followed. The young man was led from the church and no one has heard of him since then.
57. Source does not know whether there has been a mass-defection from these churches but it is believed that there is a strong decline in the numbers of their adherents. People perhaps would like to leave such churches but generally they are afraid to do so for fear of losing their jobs. The Communist Party is, of course, interested and would make much ado of it. This is also the reason why people have not joined the Catholic Church in masses.
58. Anti-Semitism is very strong in Czechoslovakia and it must be said that there are few people who judge Jews objectively. Yet it cannot be said that this anti-Semitism is a heritage of the Nazi occupation. Its causes are much older. In Slovakia, perhaps, anti-Semitism is, to some extent, a result of the regime in the temporarily independent Slovakian state.

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In Bohemia and Moravia the older generation did not like the Jews because they were mostly Germans and Hungarians and represented a class of exploiters. Their behavior during World War I did not improve their position among the Czech people. Jews found better relations after the first war by accommodating themselves to the new situation. During the German occupation the Czech people pitied them. A new wave of anti-Semitism occurred after 1945. The Jews began to obtain prominent economic assignments and seemingly played important if not decisive roles in political parties, including the People's Party, and they practically dominated the Communist Party. In February 1948, hatred of Jews among the masses reached its peak and has not diminished since then, because the ordinary citizen cannot forget their interferences in Czech public life.

59. It has been noted previously that there are two wings in the Communist Party: Jewish and non-Jewish. They are struggling for power, but the Jewish wing is still stronger. Non-Communist Jews are aware of the growth of anti-Semitism. About a year ago source and his wife visited an old Jewish friend of theirs. She told them that she was leaving for Argentina. Upon being questioned why, she replied: "Do you think that I will let myself be hanged because of these scoundrels - Jews who are leading in all these Communist atrocities? When the regime collapses, there will not be enough lanterns in Prague for them." Similar statements from many Jewish people are heard. Anti-Semitism is also, to source's knowledge, strong in other satellite states as well as the USSR, and this fact strengthens anti-Semitism in Czechoslovakia. Possibly, the reasons are the same everywhere.
60. Source does not believe that the number of Jewish Communist functionaries will grow, but it is certain that they appear constantly in high positions. It could be said rather that the number is lower as a consequence of Jewish emigration to Palestine. Most hated is probably Slansky, but people according to their personal situation have their own targets: Gomuender, Reicin, Kotatko, Nouman, Cerry, Rais, Vrbsky, Pollak, Eisler, Knapp, Beres, Sila, and others.

Czechs and Slovaks

61. The relation of the Czechs towards the Slovaks has not changed since the German occupation, but the attitude of the Slovaks towards the Czechs has changed substantially. Aversion in Slovakia to the Czechs originated at the end of the First Republic and the reasons are well known. This aversion increased even more during the existence of the independent Slovak state. Slovaks were living relatively very well then, there was no unemployment and everything could be bought cheaply, while in other states nearby there was great misery. The independence of the state was held responsible for this prosperity and foresight, and Slovak politicians were praised. After Slovakia had been occupied by the Red and Czechoslovak armies independence and well-being were at an end. For the mass of Slovak people, the Nazis and the Slovak puppet government are not guilty, but the Czechs. "The Czechs brought the Communists with them."
62. When, after 1945, the situation began to be improved and stabilized, it seemed that relations improved. After the 1946 elections when the victory of the Communist Party in Bohemia and Moravia helped the Communists to seize power in the whole country, the Slovakian attitude immediately worsened. The culmination came in February 1948. Slovakian masses attributed the success of the Communist coup to the Czechs and mainly to Prague. The trial and execution of Tiso was one of the main reasons for the hatred against the Czechs prior to February 1948. A relative of source's who had been living in Bratislava for 20 years and knew the situation in Slovakia very well called Tiso's execution the most stupid act of the Prague government. Slovaks who know this relative to be a democrat and their friend ignored him in the same way as they did other Czechs, and they were Slovaks who had never agreed with Hlinka's policy. A great blow for Czech-Slovak relations was the purge of Clementis, Laco Novomesky, etc. Many important places in Slovak administration have been taken by Czechs. Slovaks once again are saying: "Czechs and Jews out." Perhaps some persons might consider this description exaggerated, but source insists it is not.

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63. Czechs are not too much concerned about Slovak relations with them. It looks as if the majority of people have lost interest in Slovakian matters. They would probably accept any solution on condition that Slovakia remain part of Czechoslovakia. The intelligentsia are discussing this Slovakian problem but their views are so contradictory that it is impossible to generalize. These views are not always right because few people know the situation in Slovakia well. Source believes that there are few Slovaks who would be interested in an improvement in this relation. In source's opinion, separatist leanings prevail in Slovakia.
64. Those in Slovakia who are in favor of a united state will probably require a solution for the years 1945 - 1948 and possibly they will want even greater concessions. It is believed by source that if the decision were left to the Slovakian people today the majority would be for an independent Slovakian state. Slovakia, from the Czechoslovak point of view, has ceased to be a state. Czech politicians must decide whether they would like to keep Slovakia within the boundaries of Czechoslovakia. If they do, they will have to make, as soon as possible, a proper agreement with Slovak politicians abroad as well as with the Vatican. The Catholic Church would then be able to influence public opinion in Slovakia. If such an agreement is not made in the near future, source fears that such an agreement would later be impossible because Slovakian politicians would not be willing to negotiate under the influence of reports from home. The number of concessions during such negotiations is not so important, because it would be impossible to remove Slovakian aversion without substantially loosening of relations.
- 25X1X 65. [REDACTED] Czech politicians not consider the situation in Slovakia optimistically since the Czech position in Slovakia is very bad.

Education and Youth

66. Admission of pupils to high schools and universities does not depend on their knowledge and grades but on the circumstance of their origin. In principal, only children of workers and reliable Communist Party members are admitted. Children of government officials, even though talented, are sent to factories and to other jobs given to them by the Labor Office. Parents of children denied high school education are trying to get their children into such employment which would be of aid in their further study after a change in the situation. For instance, an official whose son was the best pupil in the class succeeded in getting this son into an aircraft factory as an apprentice. The son intends to study at the Technical High School. But parents succeed very rarely since control by the Labor Office is very strict.
67. The influence of Communist schools upon the pupils cannot be underestimated. Source knows of several sons becoming political adversaries of their fathers. Fortunately, such cases have been rare until this time. The influence of Communist propaganda upon the youth has been mentioned. It is very similar in the case of teachers as well as of other groups of people. Perhaps young teachers are more radical. Communist influence upon the youth can be increased to a great extent at home unless, of course, parents have democratic leanings. There have been several cases when children unwittingly informed their teachers that their parents were trying to contradict their teachers' statements. Fortunately, there were no consequences because the teachers, instead of going to the police, warned the parents. Pupils dislike political education most as is true of the larger part of population.

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Resistance at Home

66. The simple people look favorably upon home resistance and are, as a majority, ready to help. There are also opinions that the organization of the home resistance is premature at present.
69. Trials and executions for treason have an influence contrary to what their instigators expect. These evoke greater readiness than fear. To wait for a more favorable situation is the opinion of the older people rather than of the young ones. Youth is always more radical and conspiracy agrees with their romantic ideas. Without exception, the farmers are against Communism. Sometimes their opposition reaches such heights that they would be willing to start an uprising. But they have no arms or able leaders whom they can trust.
70. The execution of Dr. Milada Horakova caused general indignation and excitement. People were convinced that the Communists would not dare execute a woman, even though she represented their political adversaries. People believed that the mere fact that she was a woman would be sufficient for her not to die on the scaffold. After the execution people criticized the regime with the greatest indignation and disdain, recalling that the former president Masaryk reluctantly approved a life-sentence, even in the case of a murderer. Many people realized then that the Communist regime is absolutely without pity and that it would use any means to liquidate its political opponents. Most indignant after the execution of Milada Horakova were, of course, the women. An execution of a woman for political reasons had never before been known.
71. It is the general belief that a change is impossible by the means at disposal at home. Views vary, however, on how to remove the regime with help and interference from abroad. There are opinions both that it would be successful and that it would not be, but source does not know which view is in the majority. It can be assumed that in case of an organized uprising those who are now in doubt would join it. Source believes that a change can be achieved with political and material support from the West. Political support would lie in a guarantee that interference by the USSR or another neighboring state would not take place and, that if it did, the West would intervene with armed forces. Material support would mean arms sufficient to equip about 10 divisions. It must be taken into consideration that the Communists have in their hands the SMO, totaling 120,000 men. Besides, it cannot be asserted that the army would not fight for the regime. On the contrary, it must be assumed that the army would be passively obedient because officers' and non-commissioned officers' cadres are almost absolutely reliable to the regime. If the enlisted men obey the orders of their commanders, this would mean 90,000 men on the side of the regime. The army would become unreliable if reservists were called up, but the regime knows that. Finally, Communists would use also factory militias although their morale and training are not too good. Source believes that larger towns, especially industrial ones, would be difficult to take out of Communist hands. Action should be based on the country or on country towns.

Morale

72. Drunkenness and prostitution among the youth are increasing. As a result venereal disease is spreading to a dangerous extent. Not long ago an order was issued that all persons up to 40 years of age submit to a blood test. The number of divorces has increased too. Source is not informed about the number of births. Tuberculosis among children is increasing dangerously. Criminal acts are not reported in newspapers and statistics are not published, but from what source has heard, crime has increased considerably. In case of non-political crimes the police intervene reluctantly and with no interest. A policeman stated that the police have other matters to take care of than to search for thieves.

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National Insurance

73. Generally, national insurance is considered a good system which still requires many substantial improvements.

Opinions about Activities and Broadcasts Abroad

74. Since February 1948 the population has been waiting for some action by Czech politicians abroad directed at the liberation of the country. The attitude of the Czech non-Communist is therefore positive.
75. Broadcasting from abroad is listened to intensively. The popularity of individual stations is, according to source's opinion, as follows:
- a. Voice of America
 - b. BBC
 - c. Paris
 - d. Free Europe

Austrian and Madrid stations are listened to in a very limited way. Not long ago the order of popularity was as follows:

- a. BBC
- b. France
- c. Voice of America
- d. Free Europe

Lately the number of Free Europe listeners has increased.

76. BBC was listened to more as a habit from the time of the German occupation; the broadcasting of Sir Bruce Lockhardt was also quite popular. The French station was in favor because of its satirical sketches but its information about world events was considered weak and not serious enough. Consequently the attention of listeners has turned to the Voice of America. The reasons are: The United States is the country which is leading in the anti-Communist struggle and there the majority of Czech exiled politicians are living. Its popularity increased after the war in Korea started. To what extent and why the station "Free Europe" is popular source is not able to say because at the time of his departure from the country it had been in operation only a short time. It is estimated that the Friday lectures of Sir Bruce Lockhardt are awaited the most.
77. Listeners are not too interested in various cultural problems. They want to hear statements against the regime, against Communism, logical arguments against Communist principles, lectures about true democracy, about Masaryk, simply everything that backs their conviction that Communism is bad. Having this frame of mind they consider it ridiculous when in a broadcast the history of a famous foreign scientist or of a painter is given. In those 30 minutes of broadcasting people want to hear something that will strengthen their morale. Otherwise it would be like reading poems to a very ill person instead of giving him medicine. This is also true of nearly all stations. There are other objections. Speakers for the Voice of America have bad voices and the Slovak speaker does not speak the language correctly. The majority of the people do not know that Czech broadcasting abroad is under the control of foreign authorities.

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78. The Council of Free Czechoslovakia is considered to be a body which for obvious reasons had to be created to defend the Czech cause. But the attitude towards it is and will be very critical.
79. Generally it is said that there is no man who would be able to represent the Czechoslovak people as Masaryk did. It cannot be said that some of the Czech politicians abroad would be esteemed and worshipped extraordinarily. Greatest sympathies are for:
- a. Kipka
 - b. Prochazka
 - c. Lettrich
 - d. Mayer
 - e. Peierabend
 - f. Hodza

It should be noted that the position of Dr. Cerny, especially among farmers, is surprisingly weak. They prefer Peierabend.

80. Reports about disagreements among Czech politicians abroad are disseminated in the Communist press and are broadcasted.
81. People would not object in principle to the restoration of former political parties but they are angered when they hear that parties which do not know whether they will get any votes at all are already fighting among each other. They should help each other now and let the voters decide later.
82. People are dissatisfied, of course, that our action abroad has not yet been recognized officially on an international basis but they are aware that after the Communist coup our international situation became very difficult. Our politicians are criticized for not being able to get all our refugees out of Germany and to concentrate them in one place in order to create a Czech army when possible. There is enough definite information on Czech refugees in Germany and that is also why the number of refugees is not several times higher.
83. Reports come from the United States that some of the Czech politicians there are living on money collected by American Czechs for help to the refugees in Germany. Such reports are always very quickly spread all over the country. The people recently learned about Pechala's agreement with the Sudeten Germans. Interest is not so great but those who know about it condemn Pechala very severely.
84. Reports on the situation of our people in Germany are spread sometimes by the Communist press and sometimes by incoming letters. These reports are the reason that people desiring to leave the country deliberate a long time. At this time our politicians are being accused of carelessness and lack of interest. If a Czech army unit were to be organized, the number of Czech refugees would increase many times. People at home are informed that the best living conditions for refugees are in Australia but they consider that country too remote as they all want to return after the liberation.

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February 1948

85. The people are convinced that the Communist coup had been planned since May 1945 and that it would have taken place under any circumstances. But they assert that it could have been prevented if non-Communist politicians had chosen the proper tactics. The greatest mistakes are considered to be:
 - a. President Benes's visit to Moscow in 1943 regarding the Czechoslovak-Soviet treaty for mutual assistance which could be considered offensive to the Western Powers.
 - b. Dissolution of the Agrarian Party which induced farmers to join the Communist and Social Democratic Parties. Acceptance of the Communist dictate in the formation of the Czech government, allowing the Communists to take over the Ministry of Interior and the Ministry of National Defense.
 - c. Nationalization decrees; cowardness of non-Communist parties and lack of a concrete program.
 - d. Unpreparedness of non-Communist politicians and of members of their parties in the 1948 February crisis.
86. The resignation of the democratic ministers is agreed upon generally. It is said that it would have taken place in any case, sooner or later. People believe that the resignation was decided after agreement by President Benes.
87. People disagree that the President finally accepted the resignations and confirmed Gottwald's government. They find excuses in the President's illness and in the fact that he yielded before the threat that 900 persons would be executed if he refused to sign. People believe that the President resigned too late. He should have offered his resignation on 25 February and not condoned the Communist terror for such a long time. Generally, Benes is regarded as a politician who had the confidence of the whole nation and failed at the decisive moment. In this belief, the nation is united and source would judge it as the mildest opinion. There are many people who speak about Benes with great disdain.
88. The attitude of the Social Democratic Party in February 1948 is condemned generally. Only Major and his wing is judged favorably. Fierlinger is considered a traitor of the first rank and Lausman as at least a simpleton or as a man who until the last moment supported both sides. Lausman was the leader of the left wing in the Social Democratic Party and favored collaboration with the Communists. Lausman will never be accepted by the Social Democrats at home.
89. Non-Communist politicians collaborating with the regime have no authority among their followers and Communists look upon them with disdain.
90. People are convinced that Jan Masaryk was murdered by the Communists.
91. Those who first joined the Communist Party and then escaped to Germany are considered scoundrels.
92. People think it quite natural that non-Communist politicians escaped to foreign countries. Actually they cannot understand why some of them stayed at home (David, Zemina, etc.) But the attitude towards those abroad will be a critical one. They will ask those who return what they achieved abroad for the common cause. They have to earn their popularity by their work.

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